608
with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide 66
between compadres is actually on record (1944).

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few [631]
leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo.

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual 572
confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the av- 66
erage Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect.

Friendship is especially important in the Duraxno cacicazgo because of the tendency 622
of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional 572
and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits.

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those 571
of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which 66
have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Duraxno.

Thus the informal morphology of the Duraxno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Duraxno cacicazgo can thus be described

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor.

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge.

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hat-making, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics."

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the

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Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

193 539 787 [191]

The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

[643] [631] [645]

173 539 [487]

In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648

Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2). The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

3 n [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [36] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.